

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE 4d.

EMIGRATION OF INDIAN LABOURERS TO MAURITIUS.

By a paper just laid before Parliament we are put in possession of some important information respecting the emigration of Indian labourers to Mauritius, which Lord Stanley promised us should be so well secured from abuse, and which all parties have vaunted as so eminently successful.

In a despatch, dated the 19th of December 1843, Sir William Gomm acknowledges that that part of the government plan which consisted in the appointment of an emigration agent, whose searching watchfulness should be the great guarantee against abuse, had not been complied with; "partly," says he, "through casual misconstruction admitted by the Indian authorities themselves," and partly, "through pressure of the urgent wants of the colony, which could at the outset be adequately provided for only through the channel of individual mercantile speculation." This amounts to a confession that the government at Mauritius deliberately set the plan of Lord Stanley aside in one of its most important particulars, that of responsible official agency, and again put in action the old and most objectionable plan of "individual mercantile speculation."

Mr. Anderson, however, has at length, the governor assures us, arranged the system more completely, so that the number shipped to Mauritius shall not exceed 500 monthly, and the emigration shall be carried on "under the complete and undivided control of an agent appointed and paid by the Mauritius government." Let our readers now remark in what terms the governor describes the principal advantage of this arrangement. "*The whole duffadar and crimping machinery,*" says he, "*is inseparable from the system of private agencies, will be rooted up.*" This "duffadar and crimping machinery" is the very thing of which such loud complaints have from time to time reached this country, and concerning which such frequent remonstrance has been made by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Secretary for the Colonies. We have now irrefragable evidence of its existence, for Sir William Gomm asserts that it is "*inseparable from the existence of private agencies*" for emigration; while the frightful evils of the system are strongly implied in the gratulatory tone in which he speaks of its being hereafter wholly "*rooted up.*"

A further admission on the same point is to be found in the following passage from the same despatch. "I have pleasure in communicating to your lordship the satisfactory assurance given me by Mr. Anderson, that, *though abuses were rapidly gaining ground*, as I have expressed my apprehensions in former communications to your lordship that they inevitably would, so long as the then existing mode of obtaining candidates for emigration was persisted in, drawing the serious attention of the Bengal government at the moment of Mr. Anderson's arrival at Calcutta, it has, nevertheless, excited his surprise that in the absence of checks and correctives, about to be imposed, the instances of irregularity should not already have been more numerous and more considerable than can in fairness be shown to have already taken place in connexion with emigration to Mauritius." Evidence against the system which has been hitherto pursued is thus accumulated. Great as the mischiefs resulting from it have notoriously been, the system itself is so bad that Mr. Anderson, the only party who has officially expressed his opinion of its results, is surprised they have not been far more deplorable.

To these extracts from the despatch of Sir William Gomm, we now add a quotation from the report of Mr. Anderson.

"Having now given the detail of my proceedings up to the period of my departure from Calcutta, I cannot close the correspondence connected with my mission without placing before his Excellency the result of some of the observations which have attended my visit to India, and two passages in ships carrying emigrants; and although, from the change of measures which took place on the 1st of January, I am unwilling to impute neglect to officers whose services will no longer be required, I consider it an imperious duty on my part to make his Excellency acquainted with the causes which appear to me to have rendered immigration in many instances a most unprofitable burden to the colony.

"As one of the most striking features in the late system, I shall first allude to the total disregard of selection in the shipment of emigrants at Calcutta. It was not to be supposed that the persons hitherto employed in procuring emigrants, and whose profits increased with the number procured, would be very scrupulous about the condition of the natives presented by them to the late emigration agent; but *it is a fact, which I have verified with my own eyes, that hundreds of natives have been passed, and received medical certificates of their fitness for emigration, whose infirm, decrepid, and diseased appearance could not have escaped the most inattentive observer.* Can it then be a matter of surprise that numerous deaths have occurred on the passage, or that so many should have reached the colony in a state of infirmity or disease, which rendered them utterly unfit for the employment of immigrants, and, in many instances for any kind of employment?"

Upon this point let us further hear Dr. Thomson, marine surgeon, in his report to Captain Rogers, superintendent of emigrants, dated 4th February, 1843.

"I have every reason to believe that many frauds can be and have been committed by the duffadars employed to collect Coolies wishing to emigrate, by substituting others who are unfit from disease, or have been rejected by me, and who are afforded opportunities of going by means of the certificates I have given to healthy men. This is effected by inducing the latter to undergo an examination in order to obtain certificates, and they, not seriously intending to emigrate, part with them to the duffadar, for a remuneration of a rupee or two. He receives 10 or 12 rupees for every man shipped, of which 2 rupees are assigned him as commission, and the emigrant receives what remains after the duffadar has deducted charges for boarding, tobacco, &c., supplied during the time the man is under his care; and so anxious are many of them to be passed, and so many the artifices employed to elude my vigilance after their rejection, that finding no other means of accomplishing their object, they gladly pay four or five rupees for the certificates, and, assuming the names contained in them, are received on board."

This is the system of emigration which Lord Stanley so solemnly assured parliament and the country, both could be, and should be, made so secure against abuse that the warmest philanthropy should not be put to pain by it! Certainly these documents must be deemed to justify all the anxiety which has been manifested on this subject in England, and to demonstrate that the public papers of India, so far from being chargeable with exaggeration, have not told us a tittle of the truth.

If any consideration can make this state of things more melancholy, it is the strong presumption that both the Indian and home governments must have been cognizant and willing parties to it. Abuses so flagrant, growing up in their immediate presence, can scarcely have been unknown to the functionaries in the East; while Sir W. Gomm states in direct terms that he had expressly warned Lord Stanley of the inevitable mischief. We greatly misunderstand this language if it does not lay ground for inferring that the Secretary for the Colonies knew his plan was not carried out, and yet did not insist upon its completion.

In the paper before us the following return is made of the mortality which has attended this emigration. Of those who have left India, there have

	Men.	Women.	Children.
Died on the passage	145	18	9
Died in hospital, being sent there on arrival*	35	4	1
Died after entering into service	6	2	0
	186	24	10

On the 27,320 exported persons the mortality is rather more than three quarters per cent.; or one in every 122.

ABOLITION IN FRANCE.

THE following is the speech of M. de Gasparin, delivered in the French Chamber of Deputies, in the debate occasioned by the presentation of the artizans' petition for immediate emancipation. The commission on the petition had recommended the previous question.

M. de GASPARIN.—Gentlemen, I know not whether I have been the only person to experience the feeling, but the report which we have just heard has upon me the effect of an anachronism (yes, yes; it is true). It seems to me to carry us ten or twenty years backwards (hear). For these ten years—for these twenty years—the principle of emancipation—and not merely a vague and abstract principle, not merely a promise for the distant future, not merely a page (as the reporter has said) to be slowly written in the history of France—but an efficacious principle, a principle with consequences, a principle with a resolution to give it effect, a principle with actions following words—for these twenty years this principle has been admitted by the chambers, by all the committees which they have appointed, and by the Government. Such is the real state of the question; and I have experienced (I repeat it) a painful feeling in hearing the honourable reporter, whose motives I do not impugn, bring into question this principle before you (No! from the reporter). Gentlemen, whatever may be the case, if the order of the day, which is now proposed to you, should be adopted by the Chamber, there could not be two ways of interpreting this vote. Every one would see in it a retrograde movement (yes, yes; it is true). No one would believe, that, by a consideration drawn from the application of the petitioners, and by this consideration merely, that they have declared themselves friends of immediate and simultaneous rather than progressive emancipation, the Chamber was

* The numbers sent to hospital on arrival were 132 men, 23 women, and 3 children.

induced to adopt the order of the day. Everybody knows that we are not yet entering into the merits of different systems, and that we shall discuss them when the Minister of Marine shall have presented to the Chamber a project of law for the abolition of slavery in our colonies. Hitherto the discussion of systems would have been premature; I do not enter upon any of them; I only maintain the principle of abolition, as I just now defined it (cheers).

It is not only in France that the order of the day would be interpreted as I have said; it would be so in the colonies. And I entreat the Chamber to attend to this consideration. We owe, above all things, to the colonies, a clear and firm expression of our determination. They should know that this is the irreversible resolution of the Chambers, of the Government, and of the country; that it is not a vain word; and that we shall soon proceed to decisive measures. This is what the colonies ought to know; for, if we suffer them to be ignorant of it, we shall lead them to a degree of resistance which I do not scruple to call infatuated. It would be necessary to peruse the debates of the colonial councils, in order to conceive of the errors into which even the best men in the colonies are seduced by local interests; the apologies for slavery, and even for the slave-trade; together with the furious rejection of any proposition for emancipation, whatever the method may be. This is the course on which the colonies have unhappily entered; and you owe it to them, and to an enlightened view of their interest, clearly and firmly to express your resolve.

I shall not go beyond the province which the reporter has occupied. I might allude on this occasion to the political interest of France; I might appeal to her honour. I shall not do so. The interest of the colonies has been spoken of; and I shall confine myself to this class of considerations.

What is at the present moment the true interest of the colonies? It is, not to misunderstand their situation. The question no longer lies between abolition and the maintenance of slavery. The question is this: Shall emancipation be brought about by regular means; by laws passed here, with prudence, with caution, with a sincere regard to the colonies, with an indemnity which no one will refuse, I am glad to say, after what we have heard in the report (cheers), an indemnity which Lord Howick thus defined—"the compensation which we ought all to pay in order to expiate our crime?" (Sensation). Shall emancipation be brought about thus? Or shall it be effected by violent means, without foresight, without preparation, without indemnity? This, gentlemen, is the question.

At the present day we cannot deceive ourselves. Liberty insinuates itself into our colonies at every point. French Guiana cannot retain slavery in contact with British Guiana and freedom. From the shores of enslaved Martinique you see those of liberated Dominica. Do you think the contagion of liberty will not spread into these neighbouring countries? Recollect that, according to an expression used by an illustrious member of this assembly, ideas have their level, as well as the ocean (cheers). Consider that, even in time of peace, escapes multiply. Notwithstanding all the precautions used by our governors, slaves escape from every point. Consider that insurrections multiply in Cuba, in spite of the atrocious methods employed to repress them. Peace produces this. I do not say what war will produce; I content myself with an allusion which will be understood by every one. Let us not by our folly constitute the flag of Great Britain the signal of emancipation and freedom. Let us not put our colonies, in time of war, into a dangerous position, of which no one can foretell the issue.

I go further, gentlemen. I confine myself, the Chamber sees, to the interest of the colonies. But there is one point which we ought not to overlook; I mean what relates to the discussion of the colonial question among ourselves. Look well to consequences. The men who are now so tenacious of preparation, of prudence, and of precautions, in the solution of the colonial question, mean that it should be solved; they mean to advance, and to arrive at it; and every year, every month, which you lose transforms an advocate of gradual emancipation into a partisan of immediate emancipation (cheers). I take the liberty of recommending this consideration to the advocates of the colonies.

I was surprised to hear the hon. reporter adduce the results of English emancipation in order to justify his conclusions. I was, I confess, of the number of those who doubted the issue of that great measure. I feared that emancipation, abruptly effected, would interrupt labour. I feared that part of the black population would return to a savage condition. This fear, which I expressed six years ago, and which many persons then felt along with me, has been proved groundless by the undeniable results of British emancipation. I do not exaggerate. I do not believe that any exaggeration is wanted to promote the cause of abolition.

I do not deny that there is some foundation for the remarks of the reporter, by which he has endeavoured to establish a distinction between the situation of our colonies, and that of the greater part of the English colonies. There is certainly too real a difference. It is very true that what has principally contributed to the success of English emancipation is the lively and universal action of religious sentiments, and the influence of the missionaries. All the planters who maligned them formerly, bless them now. In this respect our colonies unhappily differ, most unhappily, from the English. I acknowledge that, if an exact comparison is required, they must be compared to Mauritius, the island in which missionaries have exerted the least influence, and the slave-trade had the longest continuance. But emancipation has not been completely wrecked, even in Mauritius. It is there of great value; and as to the other colonies of Great Britain, the results are stated in the

report of M. de Broglie, to which the reporter has alluded. Notwithstanding the immense shock of emancipation, and the almost universal withdrawal of the women from field labour, there has been a reduction of only one-fourth in colonial produce, and this amount is lessening every day. The documents quoted by M. de Broglie are to 1841. Now in 1842 the produce was larger than in 1841. In 1843 it was larger than in 1842. And not only is colonial produce constantly on the increase, but expenses are constantly on the decrease; and the price of sugar at London has also continually fallen. But, gentlemen, I am ashamed to have cited these secondary results before those which are the most noble of all—in a few years there has been created a free, industrious, Christian peasantry. This is a new spectacle in the history of the world (cheers). These results of experience are not of a character, it appears to me, to justify the order of the day (on the left, "We will not have it.")

I shall not come down from the tribune, although I came hither rather to protest against the report than to enter on the discussion of the subject, without saying a word on one of the doctrines on which it is founded. It is often produced, and I will endeavour for once to do it justice. We have been told of the happiness of the slaves, and we have been assured that they are much more happy than the workmen and peasants of the mother country.

M. DENIS (the reporter).—I did not speak of the happiness of the slaves. I said they were not so unhappy as was pretended.

M. de GASPARIN.—I accept with much pleasure the explanation of the reporter; but as this argument, if it is not positively produced in his report, is brought forward continually by the press and in the tribune, the Chamber will allow me, before I conclude, to notice it.

I might dispute the fact, but I will rather admit it. I might dispute the fact, and adduce many circumstances which ill agree with this alleged happiness. In doing so I should not intend to accuse the colonists of cruelty. The men may not be cruel, but the system is. Whenever you give one man to be the property of another man, atrocious consequences follow (cheers). I say this without any complaint against the owners of slaves.

But let us put out of question the abominable scenes, the trials, the scandalous acquittals, which we have all heard of; what the statistics teach us, of the almost entire absence of regular marriage among the blacks in the colonies, and, in consequence, of the abyss of immorality and depravity into which slavery, by this circumstance alone, precipitates its victims (hear). Let us forget all this. Let us admit the fact of their happiness. But let us inquire whether this happiness, instead of being an argument in favour of slavery, is not its most obvious condemnation, its most infamous result, its most heinous crime (sensation).

I am very suspicious of a benefit which is represented as so great, and which no one seems to desire. Although you exalt the happiness of the negroes over that of the artizans and peasants of the mother country, I seek in vain for an artizan or a peasant miserable enough to wish to be a slave (hear). Why? Because the argument proceeds on a forgetfulness of the noblest part of our being. The happiness of an animal who eats and drinks his fill, who has neither regret, nor impulse, nor thought of the future, has this ever excited any one's jealousy? Has not the fool's laughter, the mirth of an imbecile, always inspired heartfelt compassion? It is the same with the happiness of the slave. When his moral sentiments are not impaired, he is wretched, and this very wretchedness raises him in our estimation. But, when slavery has accomplished the whole of its infernal work, when it has extinguished every sentiment of forethought and responsibility, when the thoughts of the victim are engrossed with the sensual gratifications of the present moment, when this horrible situation, which admits of neither personal dignity, conjugal respect, or parental authority, has become in his eyes ordinary and habitual, then the slave has some moments of happiness! (lively sensation.) Alas! let us not speak of the happiness of the slaves! Their happiness is the most striking condemnation of slavery, for it proves that slavery destroys the noblest part of our moral being; it proves that slavery annihilates just that class of joys and sorrows which neither the animal nor the human brute can experience (cheers). It proves that slavery suppresses even the revolt of the heart (yes, it is true).

Gentlemen, individual slavery acts like collective slavery. When political slavery is established among a people there are at first revolts, and consequently suffering; but when political bondage has become severe and habitual, the people submit to it, and suffer no longer—they are happy. Is that an advance? (hear, hear.)

Thank God, there are some slaves in our colonies who still suffer. There are some who will reply like an American negro, when complimented on the agreeableness of his situation, in which he seemed to want nothing: "Sir," said he, "I want one thing; the power of putting my hand on my heart, and saying, *My flesh is my own*" (warm approbation).

THE SENTIMENTS OF THE JEWS ON SLAVERY.

(FROM MR. RICHARDSON.)

I HAVE been since the last courier much occupied with the Jews, as to their opinions of slavery. I find that their opinions are precisely those of the American slaveholders, with this difference, that they consider it right also to make slaves of white men and Europeans as well as negroes. As there are many Barbary Jews more or less under British protection, I consider it my bounden

duty, before I leave Mogador, to warn them of the wickedness and danger of aiding in any way whatever the slave-trade in this country. I have had a copy of Lord Brougham's act, of last year, lent to me, and I intend to write a circular letter and have it translated into Spanish and Jewish Arabic to be circulated throughout the country.

The following is a short conversation which I had with the high-priest and some other rabbies of Mogador on the question of slavery amongst the Jews of Morocco.—Correspondent, to Rabbi Abraham Elmelek:—"What is the opinion of the Jews of this country on the traffic in slaves?" R. Ab. Elmelek:—"I will show you" (taking the Hebrew Bible). And he said, "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." Cor.—"Admitting the curse here pronounced was right, that Ham and Canaan were the progenitors of the African negroes, and that this curse was to be extended to all the generations of Africa, is that any reason why the all-merciful Deity will hold any man guiltless who maltreats the poor Africans? Now the Jews have been dispersed over all the world, and maltreated by both Christians and Mahomedans (as now), but will God hold us Christians guiltless for maltreating you and persecuting you?" The Rabbi:—"But we are the slaves of God; and besides we are commanded to treat our slaves well in our Scriptures" (here he quoted several passages of the Mosaic law). Cor.—"Now you are running away from the subject; the people referred to in the Mosaic law were all Syrians, and principally the neighbours of the Jews in Palestine, and not negroes." Then followed a desultory conversation, in which the phrase "servant of servants" was discussed by all the Jews present, some asserting "that inasmuch as the slavery of whites was permitted by the God of the Jews, how much more right had they to enslave blacks who were to be servants of servants." Others added, "That the Jews being now the slaves of the Almighty ought to be far better treated by the Christians and the Mahomedans than the negroes." Others also added, "That if they were sovereigns of Morocco, they should make slaves of the Mahomedans and the Christians." This, indeed, is the true feeling of Barbary Jews. Oppression begets oppression. In general, I replied to the Jews, that the phrase "servant of servants" was an idiom peculiar to the Hebrew and the Arabic language, and was nothing more than a strong expression; and that it was an impious idea of the great and merciful God to suppose that he would doom a fourth of the human race (the Africans) to endless ages of slavery because Noah was so thoughtless as to get intoxicated, and expose himself to the indecent ridicule of his own children. To this the Rabbi replied, "That the crime of Noah was unpardonable." Another Jew present observed, "If you ask me as a British subject, and not a Jew, I will give you my opinion against slavery:" to which I replied, "That such a distinction was not admissible in true morals, which are the foundation of all religion." With the exception of the Jews who come immediately into contact with the abolitionists of Europe and America, the probability is, that all the Jews in all parts of the world approve of slavery. Some of the Jews in this country are so foolish as to cite the enslaving of Joseph as a reason for carrying on the traffic in slaves. Because, forsooth, God brought good out of evil in the case of Joseph, the same wickedness is to be practised. It is remarkable, however, to see the little sympathy which the Jews of this country have for their fellow-sufferers, the negro slaves, the Jews themselves, as I have before said, being no more than slaves in Morocco. But I had almost forgotten a conversation which I had with the Jewish high-priest of Mogador, Hassan Joseph. I cited the passage from the Hebrew, "He who steals a man and sells him shall certainly be put to death;" and I added, "That the law in England not only punished the thief, but the person who purchased stolen goods." To this the high-priest replied, "That certainly he who stole a man, whether white or black, was condemned to death, according to the fair interpretation of this passage." Another Jew, however, remarked, "That the negro slaves were all prisoners of war." To this I rejoined, "It was true some might be and were, no doubt, but the majority of the negro slaves were stolen from their homes." After this followed a long conversation about Lord Brougham's act for preventing British subjects from engaging in the slave-trade in foreign countries. This completely astonished them. They could not believe it possible that the British Government would punish British subjects for lending money to slave merchants. Of course, I made them clearly understand that it must be proved that the money was lent purposely and knowingly to traffic in slaves. At last, the high-priest said, "Well, it is better now, that since the Christians have put down slavery in most of the countries, they (the Jews) should follow their example." In this country charity, in every sense of the term, "begins at home." It would be almost a sin to feed an hungry man belonging to another religion. It is also held a just principle to rob those of another religion, if, like the Spartans of antiquity, you can do it cleverly and without discovery. It is, therefore, not surprising, that the Jews, who are subjected to a thousand insults and degrading vexations, should have little sympathy for the anti-slavery mission to this country. Besides, the education of the Barbary Jews is entirely ceremonial. It is with them a greater crime to light a candle on the sabbath than to rob a widow of her all.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AT HONGKONG.

From the *Hongkong Gazette*.

GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION.

The following ordinance, passed by his Excellency the Governor in Council, is published for general information.

By order, RICHARD WOOSNAM.
Government House, Victoria, Hongkong,
28th February, 1844.

HONGKONG.—No. I. of 1844.

Anno sexto et septimo Victoriæ Reginæ.

By his Excellency Sir Henry Pottinger, Baronet, Knight Grand Cross of the most honourable Military Order of the Bath, Major-General in the service of the honourable East India Company, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the colony of Hongkong and its dependencies, and Superintendent of the trade of her Majesty's subjects in China, with the advice of the Legislative Council of Hongkong:

An ordinance to define the law relative to slavery in Hongkong.

(28th February, 1844.)

Whereas it is expedient to define and promulgate the law respecting slavery in the colony of Hongkong.

1. Be it therefore enacted and declared by the Governor of Hongkong, with the advice of the legislative council thereof, That the laws of England prohibitory of slavery, together with the punishments and penalties provided therein, shall be in full virtue and operation, and shall be duly enforced and inflicted in the said colony, save as hereinafter excepted.

2. And be it enacted, That every one whatsoever using or treating, or attempting to use or treat any person as a slave in Hongkong, shall upon conviction thereof before the chief magistrate of police of Hongkong, or before such court of justice as may hereafter be established in Hongkong, be liable to be imprisoned for any period not exceeding two years, with or without hard labour and corporal punishment, and shall forfeit to her Majesty, her heirs and successors, for the public uses of the said colony of Hongkong, such sum, not exceeding five hundred dollars for each offence, and also such other additional sum, not exceeding two hundred dollars, to be paid to any person giving information of the said offence, as shall be adjudged by the said chief magistrate or court aforesaid.

3. And be it enacted, That if any person not being a subject of her Majesty shall come within the precincts of the colony of Hongkong, bring with them any person previously a slave, and shall not forthwith, on being lawfully requested, or within ten days after his arrival as aforesaid (whether thereto being required or not) convey such previous slave before the chief magistrate of police at Hongkong, or before the nearest justice of the peace, such person shall, on being convicted thereof as aforesaid, be liable to be imprisoned for any period not exceeding six months, with or without hard labour and corporal punishment, and shall forfeit to her Majesty, her heirs and successors, for the public uses of the colony, such sum not exceeding one hundred dollars for each offence, and also such additional sum not exceeding fifty dollars, to be paid to the person giving information of the said offence, as shall be adjudged as aforesaid.

4. And be it enacted, On any such previous slave being produced before such magistrate as aforesaid, that it shall be explained to him, apart from his former owner, that slavery is prohibited in the colony of Hongkong, and that he is free to depart whithersoever he pleases; and such magistrate as aforesaid shall take due care that such liberty is freely exercised.

5. And be it enacted, In case of any such previous slave expressing a wish to remain with his former owner, that such owner shall, together with two approved sureties, resident householders in Hongkong aforesaid, enter into a bond to her Majesty in the sum of five hundred dollars, conditioned against the removal of such previous slave from the colony of Hongkong by his said former owner without the said previous slave having been produced before the chief magistrate or any other justice of the peace of the said colony of Hongkong, and examined apart as to his voluntary departing with his said former owner, and being informed that by his so doing he will revert to his former state of slavery.

6. And be it enacted, In case any such previous slave shall at any time leave his former owner, or in case such former owner shall be unable or unwilling to enter into such bond as aforesaid, that such previous slave shall be maintained at the public cost until such time as he is enabled to gain his own livelihood; and the chief magistrate aforesaid is hereby authorized, with the approbation of the Governor in Council, to apprentice or otherwise place out such previous slave as aforesaid, with a view to his obtaining a livelihood by his own labour.

7. And be it enacted, If any such previous slave as last aforesaid shall be thereafter found in the possession or employment of his former owner, that such possession or employment shall be deemed *prima facie* proof of such owner having unduly repossessed himself of the said previous slave, and such owner, in default of rebutting such presumption, shall be liable to the penalties herein affixed to the treating or using any one as a slave at Hongkong.

8. And be it enacted, That any person knowingly receiving in his house any one having any person previously a slave in his possession, or a person used or intended to be used or claimed as such, and not giving immediate information thereof to the chief magistrate of Hongkong, or the nearest justice of the peace, shall upon conviction thereof before the chief magistrate, or such court at Hongkong as herein aforesaid, be liable to be imprisoned for any period not exceeding three months, with or without hard labour and corporal punishment, and shall forfeit such sum not exceeding one hundred dollars for each offence, and also such sum, not exceeding fifty dollars, to be paid to the person giving information of the same, as shall be adjudged in manner aforesaid.

9. And be it enacted, That the punishments and penalties herein provided shall be held and deemed to be in addition to those inflicted by the law of England for any offence mentioned herein, and not in any way in the stead, lieu, or substitution thereof: Provided always, and it is hereby enacted, that no part of any sum forfeited and declared by the laws of England to be payable to any informer shall be paid to such informer without the express direction of the chief magistrate or court aforesaid, who shall have full power to make such deduction therefrom as may be deemed expedient.

10. And be it enacted, That whenever this or any other ordinance, in describing or referring to any offence, or the subject-matter on or with respect to which it shall be committed, or the offender or the party affected or intended to be affected by the offence, hath used or shall use words importing the singular number or the masculine gender only; yet the ordinance shall be understood to include several matters as well as one matter, and several persons as well as one person, and females as well as males, and bodies corporate as well as individuals, unless it be otherwise specially provided, or there be something in the subject or context repugnant to such construction.

(Signed) HENRY POTTINGER,
Governor, &c., &c.

Passed the Legislative Council the 28th day of February, 1844,
(Signed) RICHARD BURGASS,
Clerk of the Legislative Council.

—*Hongkong Gazette, March 2, 1844.*

Now ready, price One Shilling and Sixpence to Non-Subscribers,
THE FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the BRITISH and
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London: Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; and British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street.

NOTICES.

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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 10, 1844.

At length the Sugar Duties Bill has passed both Houses of Parliament, and has become the law of the land. The only remark we have to make on the debate relates to a statement made by Lord Brougham in the House of Peers, that Messrs. Clarkson and Scoble (his lordship using these names, of course, as descriptive of the Committee) had systematically petitioned the legislature for the exclusion of all foreign sugar, in order to keep out the slave-grown. If this be not an error of the reporter, it is an inadvertency which this notice will sufficiently correct. We are glad to be relieved henceforth from the almost monopolizing claims which this subject has so long put forth on our regard; but we cannot take leave of it without again and emphatically expressing our sincere gratification that the principle on which the bill is framed is introduced into the commercial policy of England, and our thanks to the statesmen who have effected what we think so great a good.

The question relating to Danish sugar was noticed in the House of Commons on Monday evening in a manner adapted to allay the fears which we expressed in our last concerning it. The following conversation took place.

Mr. F. BARING said he wished to ask a question with reference to sugar from the Danish colonies, whether, under the treaty which had been entered into, the sugar from the Danish colonies was not entitled to be received at a lower class of duty than the produce of other countries? Whether the right hon. gentleman opposite had made any communication upon the subject to the Queen's Advocate, and whether the government had received any opinion respecting it?

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply to the right hon. gentleman, said that he had not communicated upon the subject with the Queen's Advocate, and for this reason, that they had never entertained any intention of doing so. The right hon. gentleman must be aware that this was not a new question, for it had arisen formerly on subjects connected with the commercial intercourse with the Danes. No claim of the kind had ever been raised, nor did he believe there was any idea on the part of the Danish government of its existence. The privileges of navigation relating to the West India colonies were conceded to many colonies before Denmark. They had indeed conceded these privileges without considering Denmark at all, and when they had at length conceded them to Denmark they did not concede them as a matter of right. There was a settled established interpretation of these treaties which was recognised up to the present time on both sides. He therefore did not think it expedient under the present circumstances to make the question a subject of reference to the law officers of the Crown. They had, indeed, special reasons for that decision, inasmuch as no party at present claimed any such privileges on the part of Denmark. If, however, she did make such, it was presumed that she would make out a better argument to sustain such claim than they were able to make. Their view was, that the West India plantations were not included at all, and never had been included in these treaties which had reference to Denmark. They were not aware of any good argument being made for such claims on behalf of Denmark, and until better reasons were given for considering those claims than any they had already heard, he would not consider it necessary to consult the law officers of the Crown upon the subject.

Mr. F. BARING made some observation, which was not audible in the gallery.

We announce with much pleasure the abolition of slavery in the British settlement of Hong Kong. The ordinance issued for this purpose has appeared in the *Hong Kong Gazette*, from which we have extracted it entire.

By the West India mail it appears that the Government measure on the sugar duties has taken the colonies by surprise, and that the usual tone of indignation and apparatus of memorials are about to be put into requisition—of course, in vain.

An unhappy and fatal excitement has been produced in the island of Dominica by the operations instituted for taking a census of the population, an idea being prevalent among the late slaves that it was a scheme for reducing them again to slavery. How such an idea could have been disseminated among them does not appear; but there seems reason to think that sufficient pains was not taken distinctly to apprise the population, especially the immigrant portion of it, of the true intent and effect of the measure about to be executed.

The Bahamas also have been the scene of outrage. The spirit of religious animosity there seems to have broken forth with great vehemence, and a determination to put down dissenters, and to coerce the entire population to the established church, has been carried out (if our informant is correct) with a degree of illegality, outrage, and cruelty, involving both clergy and laity, constabulary and magistracy, of which there is no precedent, unless one be taken from the worst times of slavery itself. If the higher courts of law in the colony do not afford redress in this matter, certainly the Government at home may be expected to interpose with effect.

We perceive by the papers that the inhabitants of British Guiana have made strong representations to the Colonial Secretary on the subject of the two ordinances to which we have lately drawn attention. One of the documents which we see in print is from a congregation at Lust en Rust and Salem chapels, Demerara. The Rev. C. Rattray, their pastor, says, "Many of the people connected with the congregation having often been out of employment as field labourers, I think they have some right to speak when it is proposed to tax them to bring more labourers into the country." He adds, "I speak from what I know of the locality in which it has been my lot to reside for ten years, when I say, the great want seems to be, not men, but money." From the memorial sent by this congregation we extract the following passage:—

"That your memorialists are, moreover, surprised and astonished to find that the bill to continue the Civil List has been brought forward and passed at the present time, in order to induce her Majesty to sanction another bill, the object of which is to promote immigration, by entailing the enormous sum of 500,000/- sterling, with the interest thereon, upon the public resources of the colony. Your memorialists are fully aware, that the comfort and prosperity of the labouring population depend on the profitable cultivation of the soil by persons possessing capital; but they do not see the urgent necessity or the expediency of a measure, by which all consumers of imported goods will be subjected, for a period of twenty years to come, to the payment of excessively heavy import duties, in order to refund the extraordinary amount of money proposed to be borrowed and applied to the promotion of immigration. For your memorialists beg to assure your lordship that, in their own immediate neighbourhood, many labourers who would most willingly take employment near their own places of abode, or on the estates on which they reside, at the rate of one guilder (one shilling and four-pence) a-day, have often been obliged to seek employment at a distance from their homes, or to turn their attention from field-labour to some other means of providing an honest subsistence for their families."

We have waited much longer than we intended before giving the eloquent and powerful speech of M. de Gasparin, delivered in the French Chamber of Deputies on the 4th of May, a place in our columns. The peculiar matter pressed upon us at the moment in such large quantities must be our apology. We are happy in being at length able to insert it. The generous and noble sentiments which it breathes can never be out of date; and, in connexion with the abolition question in France, the whole speech is too important to be omitted. The sensation it has produced may in part be judged of by the following extract of a printed letter addressed to M. de Gasparin on the occasion, by a gentleman of colour in Paris, M. Bissette.

"Permit," says M. Bissette, "a great grandson of slave-negresses to return you his most sincere thanks for the eloquent speech which you delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, on the subject of slavery. I was present at that memorable sitting, and I heard you with joy inexpressible, mingled with most fervent gratitude. By your convincing words you annihilated all the sophisms of the partisans of slavery. Your speech will create a deep sensation in the colonies, and my negro and mulatto compatriots will address to you, I doubt not, an expression of their profound gratitude."

A spirited little tract has reached us from the ready pen of the same writer, on what he calls the Mackau project, or the *projet de loi* brought forward by M. de Mackau in relation to colonial slavery, and inserted at length in our last number. He asks why the minister of marine should wish to amend the law of 1833, when he has never made use of the law as it is; he shows that the existing law gives nearly all the powers now asked for; and he affirms that the new project tends to violate the charter, by withdrawing more and more the slave population from the dominion of the law, and placing them under that of the minister. The gist of the pamphlet however, lies in a circular letter which, by some means or other, this active writer has got hold of, written by the Baron Charles

Dupin, president of the council of colonial delegates at Paris, to the governors of the French colonies. We translate it entire for the light it throws on the tactics of the colonial party, and the movements of the Government.

"Paris, January 25, 1844.

"SIR.—Fearing that the Minister of Marine may not write to you by the quickest conveyance, I anticipate him. You may calm the agitation which will be produced by the inaccurate statement in certain journals of the reply which the minister gave to the question of a deputy, respecting the measures which were to be taken in consequence of the report of M. de Broglie on emancipation. The words of the minister, extracted from the *Moniteur*, are these:—'Not many weeks will elapse, without the government being in a condition to explain itself to the Chamber respecting the measures it may have determined on, equally favourable to the interests of the colonies and the views of the mother country.' I have had a long official conference with Baron Mackau. He struggles in the cabinet against the adoption of any hasty and intemperate measure of emancipation. I hope that during the present session the minister will do nothing in this matter. He is full of good intentions. His intentions and his character may well reassure the colonists.

"I have prepared a memoir, demonstrating to the government that, in present circumstances, it is impossible, without compromising the prosperity of the colonies, to proceed to emancipation, even at a distance of ten years, as recommended by the Broglie commission; and much less to emancipate the children, that inhuman measure of which I formerly demonstrated the injustice and cruelty, when M. Passy proposed it under the ministry of M. Molé.

"I believe I can tell you, *on good authority*, that the commission on colonial affairs is *dissolved*. This anomalous and monstrous power has disappeared, affairs will return to their regular course, and the colonial offices will become sensible of it. The delegates will no longer be suspected, and colonial interests will not be estimated in a spirit of sect or party. It appears that, by an arrangement with the Duke de Broglie, *the suppression of the commission of which he was president will not be made public*, and that it has not met on a single occasion since M. de Mackau has been Minister of Marine. At present, I recommend the colonists neither to suffer themselves to be disturbed by the fear of evil measures, which we hope to ward off, nor to become careless, under an idea that there is nothing to fear. Danger exists, but it is not insurmountable. *It will continue long*; it will require constancy, coolness, firmness, and above all, moderation. In sincere friendship I recommend to them a spirit of conciliation and harmony, more than ever necessary in the grave circumstances which may characterise the present session.

"If I can obtain any important intelligence by the next packet, I will be sure to inform you of it.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"Peer of France, President of the Council of

"Colonial Delegates,

"(Signed), BARON CHARLES DUPIN."

THE remarks made by Lord Aberdeen, in his place in parliament, on the 19th of June, in relation to the enormous extent to which the slave-trade is now carried on in Cuba, must not be passed over entirely without observation. The minister's admission fully confirms the statements which we have from time to time advanced on this painful subject, and demonstrates, we think, the vanity of expecting from diplomatic agencies any permanently valuable result. General Valdez endeavoured to suppress the slave-trade, and General O'Donnell openly encourages it: that is to say, everything depends on the character and determination of the individual. The tree is occasionally lopped a little; but nothing is done towards uprooting it.

WE are gratified to learn that Mr. Joseph John Gurney has recently held an anti-slavery meeting in the island of Jersey, and that an anti-slavery committee has subsequently been formed at St. Helier's.

WE have the pleasure of announcing that Mr. Baxter is making decisive progress with his oil print of Haydon's painting of the Anti-Slavery Convention. The whole is now in outline, and is placed for inspection at the office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad-street. We do not pretend to a scientific judgment; but we will run the hazard of saying that, in its present state, the work pleases us much, and that it gives fair promise, in our opinion, of successful execution.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS—TUESDAY, JULY 2.

SUGAR DUTIES BILL.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE rose to move the third reading of the Sugar Duties Bill. The bill he now introduced to their lordships' attention proposed to leave the duties on British sugars at 24s. per cwt. with 5 per cent.; but with respect to foreign sugars it made an alteration both with respect to the descriptions introduced, and the rates at which they were received into the British market. By one of the clauses of this bill it was proposed that the sugars of China, Java, and Manilla, being the produce of free labour, should be admitted to consumption at a duty of 34s. with the addition of 5 per cent.; it further gave to the Queen in Council the power of admitting sugars from other foreign countries, if satisfied that they were the produce of free labour; and there was also a clause extending the operation of the act to those other countries with which we had reciprocity treaties. These were the principal provisions of the bill. It might be said that they did not object to the admission of a certain portion of foreign sugar, but that there should be no distinction between sugar the produce of free labour and slave labour. He was prepared to contend that the question of sugar was one which could not at all be

regulated by merely commercial and financial considerations. Both from the peculiarity of the position in which it had been placed, and from the uniform course this country had adopted with reference to slavery, it could not be regulated without reference to the general considerations of national policy. If there was any question on which this country had given a distinct and deliberate opinion—if there was one point on which it had unequivocally declared its mind and will, it was that it would in no degree countenance the existence, or give encouragement to the continuance, of slavery, but, on the contrary, would adopt every practicable measure for its discouragement and suppression. This had been their constant policy from the abolition of the slave-trade forty years ago, till emancipation was effected in 1833, and the whole course of their legislation up to last year undeviatingly aimed at the same objects. In 1841, the country did deliberately and most unequivocally declare their disapproval of the plan which was then broached for the admission of slave-labour sugar; and he was not surprised at the fact; because if they opened the British market to the sugar of slave-labour countries, they would enhance its price and extend its cultivation, and thus, not merely increase the rigours of slavery where it already existed, but tend inevitably and directly to renew all the horrors of the slave-trade itself. (Hear.) How was it possible that Parliament could adopt such a course without exhibiting themselves to the world in the attitude of pretending to menace the very existence of slavery with the one hand, while with the other they held out a bribe, and a very rich one, to its continuance?

Lord MONTEAGLE said he objected to the bill altogether, and the more because, in a matter so indefinite, the power of legislation was given to the government itself, without the control or knowledge of the house. A discretion was conferred by this bill which enabled the government to act upon their own opinions as to whether sugars were the produce of slave-labour or no. Assuming the question of slavery to be of paramount importance, let them see how the noble earl dealt with it. They were told, and with a degree of truth, that a great part of our manufactures depended on slave-labour—that cotton, tobacco, and coffee, and other articles, were produced by slave-labour, but that it was not that labour of extreme hardship which was destructive of human life, and productive of all those evils which we had to deplore in our West Indian colonies—that it was slave-labour of a very different kind; still it created a stimulus and demand for slaves in America. When statesmen and great West Indian proprietors were called upon to argue this question, they stated that although these articles did not require that heavy labour which sugar required, they nevertheless gave a stimulus to slavery. Mr. Huskisson said that every ounce of cotton used in this country raised by slave-labour afforded a reason why slavery existed. The present Lord Seaford stated a similar opinion. "But," it was now said, "we find all this existing, and the question is, Shall we increase it?" But they had been increasing it. (Hear.) The government claimed credit, and justly, for the reduction they had made in the duties on coffee, by which slave coffee was brought into competition with our own colonial coffee. Where was the feeling against slavery when that was done? Had it been entirely exhausted during that memorable discussion of eight nights in the House of Commons upon the united questions of slavery and sugar, or had it been wasted upon the hustings? Certain it was, that since then but little of the feeling had shown itself amongst the government and their supporters. If the principle of discouraging slavery were good, it was certainly not worked out in the present bill. Nay, he would undertake to prove, that if this mighty principle to which the noble earl, and, according to him, the country stood pledged, were to control their legislation, they ought to reject this bill altogether; for, while it had not the honesty to deal with the question as the interests of the consumer most required, it covertly and by insinuation—(hear, hear)—made as great an inroad upon that very principle as if it directly admitted foreign-grown sugar for consumption into this country. (Hear.) Withdraw the amount of free-trade sugar at present consumed from the markets of the world, and you create a want in those markets which must be filled up by slave-labour sugar. By that means you as much encourage slavery and the slave-trade as if you took a given proportion of the slave-labour sugar and left the markets as they were. He would ask, did they really look like practical legislators, like men of sense or common integrity, when they acted thus, and yet talked of their hatred of slavery? or were they supporting that which originated, not in any objection to slavery, or to the slave-trade, because it was anterior to both, but in a desire to protect themselves—were they supporting that, and putting it forward under the disguise, he would almost say the hypocritical disguise, of their abhorrence of slavery? The encouragement given to slavery in cotton, tobacco, coffee, and other articles, applied also to sugar. The greatest portion of Brazilian sugar was paid for in English manufactures, was conveyed away in English ships, and was sold and consumed in those foreign states to which the balance of our transactions made it our interest to remove it. (Hear, hear.) Now, he asked any man of sense to show him the difference in point of feeling, integrity, and honour, between our taking a cargo of sugar from Brazil, grown and manufactured by slaves, and selling it at the St. Petersburg market, and our sending it into the markets of this country for consumption. Disguise it as they might, there was some other motive at the bottom of it than mere hatred to slavery, and a wish to put down fraud. (Hear.) The principle of the bill was a bad one: it was a bill altogether inexplicable to him, and, having the strongest possible objections to it, he felt bound to oppose it.

Lord BROUHAM said, this was not a question of free trade, not one of political economy in the abstract, not one of rigorous policy altogether unmixed with that which ought to be at the very foundation of all political science, public good faith, a regard to the rights of humanity, and a due attention to the interests of our fellow-creatures. It was not merely a financial, or a fiscal, or a commercial question, but one in which our fiscal regulations and the arrangements of our commerce touched most nearly and most essentially one of the greatest acts in which this country was ever concerned, one of the greatest triumphs of sound policy, of virtuous principle, and of public good ever gained, the abolition of the slave-trade in the first instance, and afterwards of slavery itself in the colonies belonging to the British crown. And it was necessary that they should duly perceive the grounds upon which they were arguing throughout the whole of this discussion, to keep in view its connexion

with those great principles, because they were the governing ones to regulate their opinion. If his noble friend had demonstrated that they had failed to show their desire to abolish and keep abolished the African slave-trade, he then would have shown that the bill was inconsistent with itself, and that either on the one supposition it had failed, or on the other that it ran counter to its professed object. There was one set of political reasoners and of moral philosophers who had a perfect right to complain of parts of this bill as going too far in what they deemed a counter action, or not far enough in what they called a right action. But, to that class of reasoners, if there was any one man who did not belong, it was his noble friend. For what were those reasoners anxious? For what were such persons as his venerable friend Thomas Clarkson, and Mr. Scoble, and others, constantly petitioning Parliament and besieging the Government? That there should be no facilities whatever given, not even so much as this bill would give, to the admission of slave-grown sugar, but that all foreign sugar should be excluded with a view to exclude slave-grown sugar. Therefore they were perfectly consistent in their opposition to a bill which would allow certain sugars to come in—free-grown sugars—but which those reasoners argued would open the door to a little slave-grown sugar. But where was the consistency of his noble friend and his friends? They were for opening our ports to all foreign sugar, slave-grown as well as free-grown, with a protecting duty upon West India sugar. They said, "Let in not only the sugar of Java, and Manilla, and China, but also the sugar of Brazil and of Calcutta, and all other." (Hear.) That was their argument. They entirely cut from beneath them the only ground upon which they could attempt to assail the present measure. (Hear.) "But," said his noble friend, "this measure professing to make a distinction between slave-grown and free-grown sugar, finds it utterly impossible to carry into effect that principle; and slave-grown sugar must come in." How? He would show that this view was not a correct one. In the first place, his noble friend said, "The order in Council was to declare what countries produced free-grown sugar, and what slave-grown sugar." But, the great and important countries which were the great marts of free-grown sugar, were expressly mentioned in the bill—Manilla, China, and Java. "Oh, but," said his noble friend, "that is very dangerous: you will run the risk of having slave-grown sugar introduced." How? In the first place, he would refer to Java. His noble friend had quoted the authority of Sir Stamford Raffles. In pages 156 and 160 of the publication alluded to, their lordships would find two very distinct statements of that eminent individual upon the subject. It was stated there, that there were between 20,000 and 30,000 slaves of both sexes, and of all ages, in Java, amongst a working population of about 3,000,000. That was the proportion of slaves. Again, it was stated, "The Javanese are not, any of them, in a condition of slavery anything like that which we mean when using the term slavery in reference to West Indian colonies." They were peasants astricted to the soil, working formerly for 4d. a-day, but now for 6d. a day. Then, as to the Chinese: why, it was not pretended that sugar was grown in China by means of slavery. At present, there was no slavery in China; but his noble friend seemed to argue, "Who can tell what there may be?" He (Lord Brougham) must say, that of the wild fancies ever conjured up in the mind of an afflicted reasoner at the end of his chapter of possibilities, for the purpose of meeting his adversary in argument, this appeared to him to be one of the wildest. Why, it was perfectly notorious that the Chinese were of all people the most indisposed to alter their system, and yet his noble friend argued that the Chinese were likely to make slaves of those who now were free. Then his noble friend said, that they would be inconsistent, and directed their attention to cotton and coffee. There was, however, a manifest difference. There was a totally different application of slave-labour in the raising of those articles from its application in the produce of sugar. The great hardship of the slave-labour in the production of sugar consisted in the dreadful torments inflicted on the slaves during the operations of hoeing, planting, and tending the cane, and subsequently of making the sugar from the cane. In cotton and coffee labour the slaves frequently worked separately, and were not unusually paid by the piece; but the labour of the cultivation of sugar was performed by rows of persons of all ages and sexes, subject at every instant to the lash of the driver, without the slightest regard to the relative strength, health, or ability of the slaves: the weak and the strong, the feeble and the robust, the healthy and the weakly, men and women—there they were all in a row, all goaded on like cattle to work in what they call labour; but in what he called the most unnatural torture. (Hear, hear). But that was not all. We had for a long period been taking cotton from the States of America. We were not called upon now to discuss whether the ports should for the first time be opened to foreign cotton; but the argument of cotton was adduced to defend what his noble friend proposed to do for the first time. His (Lord Brougham's) answer was, that with respect to cotton, the change of his noble friend would be one proposed for the first time; whilst, with regard to cotton, it would be no change at all. His noble friend argued, that as we let in Brazilian coffee and Cuban coffee, we ought also to admit sugar from Brazil and Cuba. His (Lord Brougham's) answer to that was, that the coffee from Brazil was exceedingly bad, and hardly consumable. Cuban coffee was still worse, and none of it was consumed in this country. His noble friend said, that sugar from Brazil and Cuba would first go to America, and thence come here; but, did his noble friend forget, that in order to come to this country from America, it must first pay a duty upon entering America; and then, if that duty were to be drawn back, it would be necessary that the same packages must be found in which to export the sugar here, which contained it on its import to America. Then its origin would be manifest—it would at once be known to be slave-grown—and, of course, would not be admitted into our free ports. For his own part, he (Lord B.) must say, that he was unable to see any, but the most inconsequential, inconceivable, and, he might add, evanescent risk of the slave-trade being by any possibility encouraged by the relaxation of the commercial code of this country as contained in the Government proposition. His noble friend said, that they were now for the first time arguing upon mere abstract, general feelings of charity. He (Lord Brougham) denied that such was the fact: he joined issue with his noble friend upon that subject. It was undeniable, that they had over and over again legislated on such a principle, and, to prove it, it

was quite sufficient that they should consider the subject then under their discussion, at the very root and foundation of which laid their own legislation with respect to slavery, and their own treaties and negotiations with respect to the slave-trade (hear, hear); and those very views of justice and universal philanthropy which guided their lordships and the Parliament in those great measures, were the guides which they should look to in forming their conclusions upon the present measure. With respect to slavery itself, he of course did not feel so strongly as he did in reference to the African slave-trade; but as regarded both, he thought this a good measure, and it had his hearty concurrence. To reject this measure would be to encourage other powers in their continuance of slavery; but of that he thought much less than of anything which had a tendency to support the revolting, infernal African slave-trade.

Lord ST. VINCENT rose to disclaim, on the part of the West India interest, any idea that it would be a benefit to them to have the price of sugar enhanced to such a degree as that it would cease to be an article of consumption amongst the common people. There was one observation, however, which he could not avoid making, namely, that he feared if this measure did not prove successful, it might have the effect of discouraging other countries from emancipating their negroes.

The Earl of RADNOR supported the bill.

Lord ASHBUTHON said, they ought to cheapen the price of sugar, provided they did not, by doing so, endanger the revenue of the country. This country had exhibited a great willingness to make a sacrifice in order to abolish slavery and the slave-trade. To effect that desirable object, they had paid 20,000,000l. to the West India proprietors, by way of compensation; but they had done more than that: the country had spent large sums in buying off the slave trader, who had been engaged in that traffic on various coasts, and a considerable amount of money had also been expended in watching the African coast, with the view of extinguishing the trade in slaves: therefore, it was clear the country had made, and was prepared to make, a great sacrifice for the purpose of putting a stop to slavery and the slave-trade. The question resolved itself into this:—It was necessary, in order to meet the increased demand for sugar, to ascertain from what source it could be obtained. They found that there existed countries cultivating the growth of free-labour sugar. Considering the feeling of the country, taking into consideration the willingness shown to make a sacrifice for the promotion of the great principle to establish which 20,000,000l. had been freely given, it was natural that those countries growing sugar, and in which slavery was not encouraged, should be looked to and preferred. The country would look at this subject without considering the question of profit or loss. Many objections had been urged against this measure; but it should be recollected that the bill was one of an experimental character. Should the measure be found to fail—should it not answer the expectation of the Government, it was easy to amend it. Upon these grounds he gave the measure his support.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE did not intend to oppose the bill. He considered it an advance towards sound principles. He objected certainly, on the ground that it did not sufficiently carry out an important legislative principle. Could they prevent slave-grown sugar from getting into the market? Do what they could with the certificates of origin; adopt the rigid system of commercial policy pursued by Napoleon; bring into active operation every facility placed at the command of the Board of Trade, the Custom-house, and their consuls placed in various ports; and, notwithstanding every precaution of the kind, this article would find its way into their ports.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE replied, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—THURSDAY, JUNE 27.

SUGAR-DUTIES BILL.

The order of the day for the third reading of this bill having been read,—

Mr. HAWES commenced by observing that the principle which the government pretended to aim at in this bill was to prohibit the importation of sugar the produce of slave labour, and to encourage that of free labour. Now, he thought he should be able to show that very little sugar would be imported from the East which was not more or less tainted with slave labour. It had been stated, that in Java there was forced labour, and that the labourers there might properly be regarded as slaves. The right hon. the President of the Board of Trade had, however, disputed that statement, and since then he (Mr. Hawes) had made inquiries and looked into various authorities, and he believed he was in a position to show, by evidence the most conclusive, that slavery did exist in Java. He asked the right hon. gentleman to consider the statements he (Mr. Hawes) had made, and the authorities he had quoted, which he believed were unimpeachable, and then say whether he believed that the supply we should obtain by means of this bill would or would not be confined to free-labour sugar? The sounder policy would be to make no such distinction between free-grown and slave-grown sugar, for they might depend upon it that their object of abolishing slave labour would be most effectually attained by throwing open the trade, and allowing English capital and enterprise to come into competition with slave cultivation, and by forcing in the first instance upon our own West India colonists an improved system of cultivation and manufacture (hear, hear).

Mr. GLADSTONE. The hon. gentleman had quoted authorities showing that the number of slaves in Java ranged between 27,000 and 30,000. Now, he would ask the hon. gentleman to consider, in the first place, the amount of slavery existing in that country (taking it upon the statements of those authorities) as compared with the whole population. There was no distinct census of the population of Java, but the lowest amount he had seen placed it between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000; while another account, which he was by no means prepared to say was not a credible one, stated it at 12,000,000; so that by the one account the number of slaves, in proportion to the population, would be 1 in 300, and by the other 1 in 400. He did not, however, rest upon that point—the small number of slaves as compared with the whole population. The slavery of Java was a domestic slavery—a decreasing slavery, the relic merely of a former system, and was fast disappearing. The labouring population of Java were as free to quit the soil on which they were employed as were the labourers of this country. He had seen and spoken with several persons who were

acquainted with and had resided in Java, and one gentleman well acquainted with the subject, in describing the divisions of the country, stated—"that although every Javanese was at liberty to quit his village and go to another, he seldom availed himself of the privilege, for, fondly attached to the soil of his ancestors, he was little anxious to remove from it." A gentleman who had come from Java, within the last year, had assured him in the most positive manner that no slave labour, or anything approaching to it, existed in Java; but that the peasantry of that country was the best conditioned he had ever seen.

Mr. P. M. STEWART said, he should like to know from the right hon. gentleman what was his definition of free labour. The statement he (Mr. P. M. Stewart) had made on a previous occasion, and which he now repeated, was, that the labour of Java was forced, and that all the exported produce of the country was obtained by forced labour. He had taken some pains in looking into authorities upon the subject. It appeared that the revolt in Java had been occasioned by the labouring population having been subjected to the yoke of slavery, after having tasted of the sweets of freedom under British rule. He found, also, that the exportable produce of the island, under the Dutch governor, was raised by forced labour. In 1830, the governor Vanderdosh instituted the system of prescribed cultivation and forced delivery of produce, under which the quantity of sugar was increased twenty-five times in ten years. The governor directed that the inhabitants of villages should be brought to cultivate the land, and that for every $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre (English) four labourers were to be appointed, each to relieve the other alternately, so that one or other should be always at work. The manufacture of sugar was to be carried on in the same way, by men constantly relieving each other, the work never ceasing. One plantation, employing 400 men at one time, had thus 1,600 men appointed, constantly relieving each other. Under the same system, the country was divided into communities of villages, and the work was under the direction and cultivation of regents, directors, controllers, and native officers, who shared in the produce, and were consequently more vigilant in respect to the amount of work done, and became rapidly rich. Now he wished to ask the right hon. gentleman whether this was his definition of a state of free labour—or could the labourers of Java, under such a system, be fairly said to be as free as the labourers of this country? The growth of coffee was compulsory. Every owner of six acres of land was required to plant and keep in order 1,000 coffee trees, and to deliver the crops to the Dutch government at 6s. 6d. a cwt., the market price in the country being 40s. the cwt. And only one half of this 6s. 6d. went to the cultivator, one-fourth being claimed by the regent, and the remainder by the sub-officers. He would ask now what the intention of government was as to the admission of Siam sugar. Of all systems of slavery, that which existed in that country was the most reprehensible and the worst, and if they admitted its produce they would be encouraging one of the most degrading systems of slavery and kidnapping in the world.

Mr. GLADSTONE stated that government had not been able to obtain recent information as to the state of the working population of that country; but, so far as he knew, he believed a severe system of slavery existed there, and that that system was supported by a cruel slave-trade.

Mr. MANGLES complained on behalf of the sugar-growers of the East Indies, and was answered by Lord Stanley, Lord Sandon, and Mr. Bright.

Mr. WARBURTON said, that slavery in Java had been dwelt upon; but could any man pretend it was equal to that in Cuba, where men laboured under the immediate apprehension of the lash?

Mr. BORTHWICK thought this measure would be fatally injurious to the West India planter.

Lord J. RUSSELL said, there was a part of this measure on which much discussion had taken place that night—he meant that with respect to free labour and slave labour. The result of the whole was to leave the subject in the same state of uncertainty which had prevailed on the first day of the introduction of the measure by government. When you once begin to make a distinction as to the import of articles from foreign countries, according to their institutions, you attempt a kind of legislation most difficult to carry out with any degree of consistency, fairness, or justice. If a special inquiry were to be instituted as to the state of Java and Porto Rico, it was very uncertain what might be the result; but he should not be surprised if it were found that the condition of the labourers in Porto Rico, generally speaking, was better than that of the labourers of Java. The statement of his hon. friend near him (Mr. P. M. Stewart), that the slave-trade was carried on in Java, had not been contradicted. It was true, the President of the Board of Trade had said that there were 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 of people in Java, and only 30,000 slaves. That might be the case, but you were speaking on principle—you attempted to make a distinction between slave-labour and free-labour states; and it would not do to say that Parliament had determined to introduce the sugar of countries where slaves were in a very small proportion, and exclude that of countries where they were much more numerous. It was essential to the future character and usefulness of the house, whatever their politics might be, whether in support of government, or of a more liberal character, that whatever was done by the house should be done after full and solemn judgment, unbiased by any regard to influence which might mislead (cheers). In the particular question now before the house, he could not refrain from giving his opinion, and entering his protest against the course which had been pursued (hear, hear).

Sir H. DOUGLAS stated, that his opposition to the government measure was still unchanged, and if any division had been taken against it, he would have vindicated his consistency by voting against the measure.

Sir R. PEEL vindicated the conduct of the government.

The bill was then read a third time, and passed.

Colonial Intelligence.

CANADA.—By a recent letter from the Rev. Hiram Wilson, we have received cheering accounts of the British American Institute at Dawn, Canada West. During the last winter there were under instruction sixty pupils, about half of whom were adults, and the whole of whom made good proficiency. The property had been increased by the

purchase of 100 acres more land. About fifty acres of timber had been cleared, and twenty acres were under promising wheat cultivation. A brick-yard had been successfully opened, with a view to the erection of premises, and Mr. Wilson says—"We have counted the cost, and can put up an elegant brick house, spacious and superb, fitted to accommodate sixty students, at the expense of 200*l.* sterling." He adds, "Applications for admission are numerous, and we are thirsting, and panting, and struggling for enlargement." A liberal donation had been received from the Governor-General, with a letter from his private secretary containing the following words:—"I am desired to add, that the Governor-General hopes to hear of the successful progress of an institution which promises so much benefit to the coloured population of this province, in whose welfare his Excellency will never cease to take the most lively interest."

JAMAICA.—(*From a Correspondent*)—The drought has been of a severer description than we expected—indeed, very few remember such an one before. It commenced in November, and continued, with the exception of a few slight showers, until the second week in May. In St. Elizabeths, it caused almost a famine. In Trelawney some estates that shipped last year 100 or more hogsheads, this year have only made eight, ten, or twenty. In St. James, the effects of it have been not quite so severe, while in Hanover, it has not done much mischief. It being a rainy parish, the dry season for crop time was favourable, and while the "pens" suffered from want of grass, and the seaside estates' cattle suffered, the generality of the estates have been benefited by the drought. The season of rain has now arrived, and truly it may well be called spring, for all nature seems leaping into new life and beauty. Wages in Trelawney were reduced to 1*s.* per day, and the poor labourers' grounds being totally ruined, they were glad to take anything. In fact, the planters found them work to keep them from starving. Such is the report that I have several times received, and have every reason to believe true. Crop is now over—provisions are very scarce, at least double the price of them at Christmas; and every one is busily engaged in planting.

BAHAMAS.—A place of worship belonging to the Baptists, on the island of Exuma, has been the scene of illegal violence and outrage on the black population, reminding us but too strongly of the palmy days of slavery. The gentleman who figures on this occasion is the reverend R. Davis, a clergyman of the Church of England. "On the Sabbath morning," says our correspondent, "our agent attended the sabbath-school, and this being closed, he took his place before the desk to read, and commence public worship. At this time the clergyman walked into the chapel, and placing himself also before the desk, demanded of Mr. Fowler if the bible before him were his. He received an answer in the affirmative, and an assurance that, as he was sent by the Baptist missionary from Nassau to use it, he should do so. 'Then,' said he (the clergyman), 'I'll fix you;' and going to the door, he beckoned to the constables, whom he had ordered to be near the door, to enter. They having done so, he said to them, pointing to our agent, 'Take that fellow into custody.' Three of them at once seized him, and dragged him violently out of the chapel, as though he had been a ruffian or a felon. They kept him for one hour and three quarters in custody; and would have hauled him to the magistrates, but the poor people, especially the female part, held him, and hung round him, saying he had done no evil, but had come from their minister at Nassau to read to them of Jesus, and he should not go to prison." From this primary violence others quickly originated, not touching the reverend author of the mischief, but making the aggrieved parties to be the offenders; and warrants, arrests, fines, and imprisonments, followed each other in rapid succession. "The sum thus far is:—Three poor women have been mulcted in 26 dollars (5*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* sterling). Nine persons (eight men and one poor widow) have been confined in jail. One man has been whipped, receiving 39 lashes, and is imprisoned for two months and kept to hard labour. Five men have fled from the island to escape imprisonment, and many more to the bushes or keys. Upwards of thirty-eight children have been deprived of the care and presence of their parents. The poor widow is the mother of six children, and she was made to cut rock like a man; and when her strength gave way, they (the magistrates) made her shovel mud out of the canal which conveys the salt water into the salt pans. One of the men, who had been sentenced to sixty days imprisonment, was released on the fourteenth day, the magistrates confessing that they could not prove the charges against him. They at once swore him in as a constable. The best man on Exuma was sentenced to twenty days' confinement in jail; but was brought nigh to death there, so that the magistrates were compelled to release him on the twelfth day. While, to all appearance, in a dying state he was unvisited in his cell from nine o'clock, a. m., until five o'clock, p. m." The illegality as well as cruelty of these proceedings is deemed so obvious, that an action has been instituted by the injured parties against the constables, it being out of question to think of obtaining justice from the courts against a clergyman. These outrages are imputed to religious animosity, and a hatred of the sect in question, extensively cherished by the aristocracy of the colony.

DOMINICA.—RESISTANCE TO THE CENSUS.—Under an erroneous impression that "their former enemies and their former friends" had leagued together to enslave them again, the peasantry on this island made on the 3rd of June a determined resistance to the enumerators employed under the Census Act. Several officers and magistrates were unhorsed, beaten, and wounded, and some houses had been assaulted and sacked. The governor first called out the militia, and shortly afterwards proclaimed martial law. In the neighbourhood of Roseau, the principal town, the insurrection had been speedily quelled by the military, and various captures had been made in other parts of the island. About 100 persons were in jail on the departure of the packet, waiting their trial. The governor of the Leeward Islands, Sir Charles Fitzroy, had arrived in her Majesty's ship *Inconstant*, Captain Freemantle, and it was supposed martial law would cease immediately. About eight of the insurgents were killed and wounded. Two hundred men of the Royals were despatched from Barbadoes, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Archer, on the intelligence reaching that island. The *Dominican* adds, "We must say

this conduct of our people has quite taken us by surprise, and, as their friends and brethren, suffuses our faces with shame on their account. There is one thing certain, that as a body they have departed on this occasion from their former practice of resorting to us, and many like us, for advice in all cases of doubt. Their disbelief in the object of the Census has been generally very closely concealed, so that the now public means for disabusing their minds did not appear needful to be employed, lest doubts should really be created where none existed."

MAURITIUS.—THE COOLIES.—The *Mauritius Watchman* of the 13th of March states that "several thousand Coolies had latterly been seen wandering about without employment." The French part of the press was denouncing against these poor creatures the vengeance of the law as vagrants; but we hope that the plea which our valued contemporary puts in for their being "treated legally and humanely" will be attended to.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—THE ANNEXATION TREATY has been rejected by the Senate, by 35 to 16. But the danger is not over. It was only to the treaty, not to the annexation itself, that resistance has been made. Here is a new move. In the presence of a crowded Senate, Mr. Benton has, in a speech of two hours, presented his project for the annexation of Texas.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The proceedings in the General Conference of this body are of extraordinary interest to the Anti-slavery cause, particularly as evincing the rapidity with which Anti-slavery sentiment is leavening the community. The resolution passed in 1840 against receiving the testimony of coloured persons has now been repealed. And one of the bishops (bishop Andrew) having become by marriage a slave-holder, a resolution has been brought forward, and carried, after eight days discussion, by 110 to 68, that he be requested, while he continues a slave-holder, to refrain from the exercise of his functions. The sensation produced by this measure is, of course, very great, and the moral effect of it is expected to be very extensive and highly salutary.

CUBA.—In Cuba, it is said, affairs are in a most disordered state. The prisoners now in the jails at Matanzas and elsewhere amount to many hundreds; we are told 800. Several more had been shot, and certain English and Americans were ordered by O'Donnell to be tried. The *Illustrious*, line-of-battle ship, had been sent by the Admiral (Sir C. Adam) to Havana, it was said to demand an explanation respecting the imprisonment of several British subjects on account of the late disturbances in the island; and also an explanation of the circumstance, that all free-coloured British subjects had been peremptorily ordered off the island of Cuba, to the ruin of many of them.—*Morning Chronicle*.

BRAZIL.—It appears from the papers, that the Brazilian authorities are carrying out their plans for promoting immigration from Europe and the Western Islands. A French Company had engaged to send 2,000 emigrants from the south of France, the borders of the Rhine, and Switzerland. A Mr. Bergasse had begun to carry this offer into effect, and had entered into a contract to introduce 600 persons, for whose location a grant of land, two leagues square, had been made, paying the province a ground rent of 896 milreis per annum. A Belgian gentleman, Mr. Nellis, had arrived at Compos with 95 emigrants, his countrymen. They had been located in that neighbourhood, provided with provisions for the first twelve months, and lands already in a state of cultivation ceded them by the Brazilian inhabitants. From the Azores 400 emigrants had likewise been engaged, and 120 mechanics arrived from Havre, to replenish the colony at Sahy, established by Dr. Mure. From a correspondence in these newspapers between two gentlemen, on the subject of the tariff to be adopted in November next, some particulars are given respecting Mr. Ellis's mission and demands, from which it appears that, on the proposition being made by the Brazilian minister for a reduction of duties on sugars, and some other products of the empire, it was parried by a reference to the slave question, and a demand that the Brazilian legislature should emancipate the slaves by a decree (although such emancipation should not take place immediately) before any alteration could be made in the sugar duties, but as to other articles, such as spice, pepper, India-rubber, &c., the duties would be modified. Mr. Ellis further wished that all vessels captured, or detained on suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade, should be disposed of by the laws of England, and not be tried by the mixed commission, as stipulated by treaty. "These conditions were rejected by the Brazilian minister, as being contrary to subsisting treaties, and imposing on Brazil an obligation to legislate respecting her internal affairs at the dictation of a foreign power." The measures above referred to have been adopted by the Brazilian provincial authorities, to meet the falling off in slave labour, which they have already felt, and of which they anticipate a severe pressure.—*Morning Chronicle*.

ALGERIA.—THE FRENCH AND SLAVERY.—(From a Correspondent.)—Slavery exists amongst the Moors and Arabs of Algeria precisely as it did before it was occupied by the French. This existence is recognised by the fundamental laws of the colony; that is to say, the administration of Algiers considers slavery as a part of the rights, customs, and privileges which the French have bound themselves to preserve in the undisturbed enjoyment of the Moors, Bedouins, and other native inhabitants of this country. About five years ago this question was established beyond doubt, and as a guide for the future. A negress ran away from one Moorish family to another: I believe the negress was the property of Abd-el-Kader. This prince was then at peace with France. He demanded from the French government that the negress be given up to him. The officer administering the affairs of the Moors and Arabs—a department separate from that of the general government—replied that he could not, as every slave who set his foot upon French land was free. The question was then referred to the Governor-general, the Marshal Valé. This doctrine was considered too fine for the humane perceptions of the marshal. A long discussion followed between the

executive and Mons. Lepellessier, who was at the head of the affairs of the Moors and Arabs, and the matter was at last decided, "that the negress slave should be sent back to her former master, slavery being a portion of the privileges of the conquered inhabitants preserved to them inviolate." Such is the progress of French civilization in Africa as to slavery! It appears, however, that the sale of slaves is a matter almost wholly of private transaction. The French have, during their fourteen years' government of this colony, so exasperated the native inhabitants, that now they are glad, in order to conciliate, not even to inquire into their domestic slavery. It excites no attention amongst the European residents, although a very great number of negroes and negresses (mostly slaves) are to be seen in different parts of the country. If a Frenchman should buy a slave, his punishment is, that, in case the slave runs away and makes a complaint against the master, the slave is declared free; or even if the slave simply states that he, or she, is held by a Frenchman, the slave is declared free. The punishment is, therefore, the loss of the property in the slave. This is considered sufficient for any man coming over from France and deliberately purchasing a slave with his eyes fully open, and with a knowledge of all the bad consequences of slavery and the slave-trade.

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